

Approved in EUR-Mr. Kohler
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SECRETARY'S GENEVA TRIP

July 19-26, 1962

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

Date: July 25, 1962
Time: 10:30-10:50 a.m.
Place: Soviet Mission

Participants:

United States

Mr. Kohler
Mr. Akalovsky

USSR

Mr. Gromyko
Mr. Sukhodriev, Interpreter

Subject: Germany and Berlin

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After exchange of greetings, Mr. Kohler opened the conversation by saying that the Secretary had wanted him to follow up on a few points connected with the conversations in Geneva between the two Ministers. First of all, the Secretary had wanted him to give Mr. Gromyko a copy of the exact text of our reserved powers with respect to Berlin, Germany as a whole and a peace settlement. Mr. Kohler then handed over the attached text, explaining that it was the first two articles from the treaty arrangements concluded at Paris on October 23, 1954, which formalized and continued the reservations which had been accomplished by informal means such as letters and other arrangements since 1949. Mr. Gromyko said that he would consider the matter.

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Mr. Kohler said the second point was connected with a long private discussion between the Secretary and Mr. Gromyko at dinner the other night on the question of nondiffusion of nuclear weapons and the possibility of finding a formula which would be acceptable to both sides. The question had been posed by Mr. Gromyko as to whether the wording, "direct or indirect," could be accepted from the Soviet formulation on this question but which, as the Secretary had explained, would apply only to assistance to national nuclear capabilities. The Secretary wanted Mr. Gromyko to be informed that he would consider and work on this after his return to Washington and would be in touch with Ambassador Dobrynin on the subject. Mr. Gromyko replied that this was a question for discussion. Wording must be found which would ensure that there were no loopholes. The Soviet Government wanted an agreement on this subject. However, as he had stressed to the Secretary, if there should be any delay in reaching a broader agreement on the subject, this should not entail any delay in reaching an arrangement on this point with respect to the two German states. The Soviet Union was opposed to making one problem dependent on another.

The third point, Mr. Kohler said, was that the Secretary had wished him to remind Mr. Gromyko of the Secretary's remarks on the possibility of arranging for sessions of Deputy Foreign Ministers to deal with some aspects of the issues between us. Mr. Gromyko replied that as he had said yesterday he had no reply to this question as yet and that the Secretary should not expect to receive a reply in Geneva. This suggestion raised a number of questions for the Soviet Union which would have to be considered in Moscow and consequently there was no answer at this point.

Mr. Kohler then said that the Secretary had received nothing new in the way of instructions and that he was planning to leave at 5 p.m. today. If Mr. Gromyko also had nothing new, the Secretary would leave as planned. However, if Mr. Gromyko had new instructions or desired to have a further discussion, the Secretary would be happy to meet with him before his departure or to stay over. Mr. Gromyko replied that he had nothing new at this point. The Soviet position had been expounded with clarity and in full detail. He regretted that the US side had taken a position which did not provide a basis for understanding on the major issue. All of this created a

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complicated situation, the responsibility for which rested not with the USSR but with the United States. Mr. Kohler replied that he was sure the Secretary would want him to say that on our part we regretted the Soviet position but that both sides should think about these problems and what had been said here in Geneva very seriously.

Mr. Kohler then brought up the question of what should be said to the press, expressing the Secretary's view that the conversations should be treated in low key so as not to cause complications or undue speculation. Mr. Gromyko expressed agreement and said that he had no intention of making further public statements here.

Mr. Kohler then said that he was happy to be returning to Moscow and that he was tentatively planning to arrive there around September 15. Mr. Gromyko said that Mr. Kohler would be welcome in Moscow. While the Soviet Government was sorry that his predecessor was leaving, since this was the case they were happy that he, Mr. Kohler, had been named.

Attachment

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PROTOCOL ON THE TERMINATION OF THE OCCUPATION REGIME
IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Concluded at Paris on October 23, 1954, Between the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the French Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany.

Article 1

1. On the entry into force of the present Convention the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the French Republic (hereinafter and in the related Conventions sometimes referred to as "the Three Powers") will terminate the Occupation regime in the Federal Republic, revoke the Occupation Statute and abolish the Allied High Commission and the Offices of the Land Commissioners in the Federal Republic.
2. The Federal Republic shall have accordingly the full authority of a sovereign State over its internal and external affairs.

Article 2

In view of the international situation, which has so far prevented the reunification of Germany and the conclusion of a peace settlement, the Three Powers retain the rights and the responsibilities, heretofore exercised or held by them, relating to Berlin and to Germany as a whole, including the reunification of Germany and a peace settlement. The rights and responsibilities retained by the Three Powers relating to the stationing of armed forces in Germany and the protection of their security are dealt with in Articles 4 and 5 of the present Convention.

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Figure 6

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